

Message Text

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ORIGIN INR-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 AF-10 IO-15 SS-15

NSC-10 PRS-01 DRC-01 /088 R

66611

DRAFTED BY: INR/RAA: LHEYNIGER

APPROVED BY: INR/RAA: CTTHORNE

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R 092137Z OCT 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 200166

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINR, PU

SUBJECT: INTELLIGENCE NOTE ON PORTUGUESE GUINEA

FROM INR FOR SUMM

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT IN ENTITLED "PORTUGUESE GUINEA:
REBELS ESTABLISH GOVERNMENT."

QUOTE..THE GUERRILLAS IN PORTUGAL'S MOST EMBATTLED AFRICAN
TERRITORY HAVE PROCLAIMED THE INDEPENDENCE OF "GUINEA BISSAU."
AN ABUNDANT SUPPLY OF WEAPONS FROM THE SOVIET UNION, INCLUDING
GROUND-TO-AIR MISSILES, MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE REBEL DECISION
TO FORM A GOVERNMENT INSIDE THE TERRITORY. MOST AFRICAN AND A
NUMBER OF OTHER NON-ALIGNED NATIONS ARE LIKELY TO RECOGNIZE
GUINEA BISSAU AND SUPPORT ITS EVENTUAL APPLICATION FOR ADMIISSION
TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WHERE THE US STANCE WILL BE CRITICAL FACTOR.

GOVERNMENT DECLARED. ON SEPTEMBER 24 THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE
"REPUBLIC OF GUINEA BISSAU" WAS PROCLAIMED AT A GATHERING OF
GUERRILLA FREEDOM-FIGHTERS HELD AT MADINA DO BOA, NEAR THE
PORTUGUESE TERRITORY'S SOUTHEASTERN BORDER WITH GUINEA. THE REBELS
HAVE BEEN THREATENING TO TAKE THIS STEP FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS.
ACCORDING TO COMMUNIQUEs RELEASED IN CONAKRY AND DAKAR, THE
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PRESIDENT OF GUINEA BISSAU'S "COUNCIL OF STATE" IS LUIS CABRAL,

BROTHER OF RECENT ASSASSINATED INSURGENT LEADER AMILCAR CABRAL. UNDER ITS NEW CONSTITUTION, THE "GOVERNMENT" IS HEADED BY FRANCISCO "CHICO" MENDES, WHO HAS BEEN VARIOUSLY REFERRED TO AS "PRIME MINISTER," "CHIEF COMMISSAR," AND "PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY." ARISTIDES PEREIRA, WHO WAS ELECTED TO REPLACE AMILCAR CABRAL AS HEAD OF THE INSURGENTS, HAS NO POSITION IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT BUT REMAINS SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE GUERRILLA GROUP PAIGC (AFRICAN PARTY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF PORTUGUESE GUINEA AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS), WHICH CONSTITUTES THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S POWER BASE.

POLICIES OUTLINED. AT PEREIRA'S REQUEST, THE NEW GUINEA BISSAU COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, VICTOR MARIA, CALLED AT OUR EMBASSY IN CONAKRY ON SEPTEMBER 27. MARIA STRESSED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTERNATIONAL POLICY IS ONE OF NON-ALIGNMENT. HE SAID THAT THE PAIGC TAKES HELP FROM COMMUNIST NATIONS, BUT IS NOT COMMUNIST ITSELF. GUINEA BISSAU, HE ADDED, WANTS GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL NATIONS. MARIA NOTED THAT THE PAIGC HAS BEEN AND REMAINS WILLING TO TALK WITH THE PORTUGUESE WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS (PORTUGAL HAS THUS FAR NOT HELD TALKS WITH ANY OF THE INSURGENT MOVEMENTS IN ITS AFRICAN TERRITORIES, DESPITE A UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION LAST YEAR UNANIMOUSLY URGING IT TO DO SO). THE COMMISSAR ALSO CONFIRMED THAT WITH GUINEA BISSAU'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE NEW NATIONAL CAPITAL AND PAIGC HEADQUARTERS WILL BE LOCATED INSIDE THE TERRITORY. INTERNALLY, THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY PURSUE POLICIES THAT CAN LOOSELY BE DESCRIBED AS SOCIALISTIC.

PORTUGUESE PLAYING IT COOL. A SPOKESMAN IN LISBON HAS CALLED THE GUINEA BISSAU ANNOUNCEMENT "A FANTASY." HE ADDED, "THERE IS NO AREA IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA WHICH IS NOT UNDER OUR CONTROL." A PORTUGUESE OFFICIAL AT THE UN CALLED THE INDEPENDENCE "FICTITIOUS AND WITHOUT LEGAL OR MORAL FOUNDATION." NO PORTUGUESE MILITARY REACTION IN THE TERRITORY HAS YET BEEN NOTED.

MILITARY MOMENTUM AND MISSILES. THIRTY THOUSAND PORTUGUESE TROOPS CONFRONT 8,000 GUERRILLAS IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA. MOST OF THE SPORADIC FIGHTING THERE TAKES PLACE NEAR THE TERRITORY'S BORDERS WITH SENEGAL AND GUINEA. THE PAIGC CONTROLS ROUGHLY ONE THIRD OF PORTUGUESE GUINEA ALONG THESE FRONTIERS. DESPITE THE

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DEATH OF AMILCAR CABRAL, THE MILITARY INITIATIVE IN RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN SHIFTING TOWARD THE REBELS. IN PART, THIS HAS BEEN DUE TO THE PAIGC'S USE OF RUSSIAN-MADE, GROUND-TO-AIR MISSILES WITH WHICH THE INSURGENTS HAVE KNOCKED DOWN SEVEN PORTUGUESE MILITARY AIRCRAFT UP TO A MONTH OR TWO AGO. THE SUCCESSFUL USE OF THESE MISSILES MAY HAVE BEEN A FACTOR IN GIVING THE PAIGC CONFIDENCE THAT IT COULD COMMIT ITSELF TO DECLARING INDEPENDENCE. ANOTHER REASON FOR THE STEP MAY HAVE BEEN TO BOOST GUERRILLA CONFIDENCE

AND MORALE, AND GAIN A MEASURE OF INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE, AFTER THE BLOW OF AMILCAR CABRAL'S MURDER.

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK. AS OF OCTOBER 4, THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA BISSAU HAD BEEN RECOGNIZED BY 38 NATIONS, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, THE PRC, ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND A SCORE OF AFRICAN STATES. IN DUE COURSE, MOST "NON-ALIGNED" NATIONS AND PERHAPS ONE OR TWO IN WESTERN EUROPE AS WELL ARE EXPECTED TO EXTEND DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION. MORE IMPORTANT, GUINEA BISSAU IS EXPECTED TO APPLY FOR ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS THIS YEAR OR NEXT. ITS REQUEST MAY WIN SUPPORT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FROM AS MANY AS SEVENTY MEMBERS. THE UNITED STATES WOULD THEN FACE THE POLICY CHOICE OF WHETHER OR NOT TO VETO THE ADMISSION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. AN UNSUPPORTED US VETO WOULD CAUSE SEVERE DAMAGE TO US RELATIONS WITH MANY AFRICAN NATIONS.

ANOTHER ISSUE FOR THE US IS PORTUGAL'S STANCE. IN VIEW OF THAT NATION'S STUBBORN DETERMINATION TO RETAIN CONTROL OF ITS AFRICAN TERRITORIES, AND ITS CONCERN THAT A REBEL SUCCESS IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA COULD GIVE NEW HEART TO INSURGENTS IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, LISBON IS VERY UNLIKELY TO AGREE SOON TO HANDING OVER SOVEREIGNTY IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA. ON THE CONTRARY, PORTUGAL MAY SEEK TO INSIST ON GREATER US SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION IN AFRICA AS ONE QUID PRO QUO IN OUR FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS FOR RENEWAL OF THE AZORES BASES AGREEMENT.

. . . UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE200166
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: INR/RAA: LHEYNIGER
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS THORNE
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731043/aaaabfij.tel
Line Count: 145
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN INR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15-Aug-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INTELLIGENCE NOTE ON PORTUGUESE GUINEA FROM INR FOR SUMM
TAGS: PINR, PU
To: NATO BRUSSELS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005